/32 cont./

634 613 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume significance: this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and more independent in each of the villages where they are settled, /33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons. Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

621 794 794 162 634

342 333 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
•333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
[184] the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[554] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[712] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, Imud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^{c}wān and Tuz'z'umt, where intercalary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclo-
● [383] sures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the country, for all sorts of uses.

[192] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It is hardly in accord with cantonal egalitarianism. It implies larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover, it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it apropos the ground of Bul^{c}wān itself, which, however, constitutes the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discoverable limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty. The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable
[192] examples may be observed facing Bul^{c}wān itself. They bear an Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost, and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example, the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other
[312] hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

1: Berque--393 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications

"A National Saint,"

Lalla Aziza

796
[533]
[333]

When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of [114] E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 798 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/420 cont./

000 the notion of "Bédouin" embraces in his eyes the peasants of the Atlas, he interprets their cohesion as a trait of agnatic solidarity, ᶜaṣabiyya. But this hypothesis, although venerable, is nonetheless a hypothesis.

/421/ What is sure is that there was collaboration, mutual reaction, exchanges between the two types. Reality most often offers only intermediary or worn forms of it. In the Haut-Atlas, these are economic structures that, with the complicity of the event, permitted not only the survival of one of the two formulas, but its systematic expression. Inversely, the relations between a certain organization and certain features of the landscape are undoubtedly responsible for the manifestations, more or less pure, of the other formula. The tribe with ancestor, nonchalantly posed, by its way of life, on a country propitious for wide variations, on the one hand (1);

> 1. The best type of this in the Maghreb is perhaps the Tripolitan "tribe." The remarkable in. /unpublished/ account by Cauneille shows the fluidity of this grouping.

the montagnard community, firm in its techniques, clamped to its vales, on the other hand: these two types equal each other as poles of explication. Between the two are ordered the rural morphologies of the Maghreb.

Local Breakup of the Type

619 634 The taqbilt-s of the upper valleys present the second of these types to a degree of synthesis and under historical guarantees unhoped for. Whence, among other things, the interest of the Seksawa. But this is nevertheless an extreme case, subordinated to certain protections and to certain conditions.

• [333] Scarcely at the approaches of the plain, the masonry becomes more dilapidated, collapsing by large sections. Such is the case for the Mtugga, whose haughty conservatism, however, has often,

/341 cont./

175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often
*631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft,
712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long
[312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the
/342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces-
[595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter-
[574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n
[333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

/342 cont./

175 the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and
*631 loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the
712 cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying
•[333] them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes, as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collecting the taxes and commanding in his name. All these constructions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under
[466] the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the
[333] Ait Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

[671] [178]